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THE HISTORY OF THE CAMERONS.

By the EDITOR.

XIII.

SIR EWEN CAMERON—*Continued.*—FINAL SETTLEMENT OF
THE ANCIENT FEUD WITH MACKINTOSH.

LOCHIEL and his clan lived in peace during 1659, though considerable commotion was going on at headquarters. When his good friend, General Monk, resolved upon supporting the Scottish Parliament against the English Generals, Lochiel determined to join him, and accompanied him in his famous expedition to England, which resulted in the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660. His reputation had preceded Lochiel in the south, and he was treated with the greatest civility and consideration, wherever he went, by the English people, who came in crowds to meet the Scottish Army, expecting deliverance at their hands, praying for their success, and petitioning for a free Parliament in England. Lochiel, who was the guest of Monk during the celebrated march to London, was carefully provided for in suitable quarters on his arrival. The General had him along with himself on all occasions where there was opportunity of doing him honour, and when the King made his triumphant entry to the city, "the

General desired Lochiel to keep all the way as near to him as he possibly could ; and when his Majesty alighted, it was his own fault but he held the King's stirrup, as he had an inviting opportunity. The effect of his modesty, or rather bushfulness, he had some reason to repent of, for another, who had more assurance, got before him and performed that office, for which he was royally rewarded." He was, however, afterwards introduced to kiss the King's hands ; when he was received very graciously, the General having previously made known who he was, and the nature of his merit and services to the Crown. He was also introduced to the Dukes of York and Gloucester. General Middleton had already made the former fully acquainted with Lochiel's position and past history, especially as to the incident of biting out the Englishman's throat at Achadalew, which had become a leading subject of conversation in Court circles. The Duke of York especially received him most graciously, with marks of esteem and favour, and on several occasions he took pleasure in chaffing him about the famous mouthful, and other incidents of his early life.

The garrison at Inverlochy was ordered South, when by an order of General Monk to Colonel Hill, then governor, the houses and all the material which could not be shipped was granted to Lochiel ; while, at the same time, the key of the fortress itself was given up to him. The order is dated, 18th of June 1660, at Cockpitt, where General Monk then resided. But while Lochiel was thus in favour at Court, he was not yet destined to be free from trouble in his own country, though, for a time at least, his quarrels were not of a sanguinary nature.

The Marquis of Argyll having been brought to trial before the Scottish Parliament, condemned and executed, in 1661, turned out most unfortunately for the Camerons. Lochiel's uncle, Donald Cameron, who had been his tutor during his minority, and two others of his relations, having advanced to Argyll, between 1650 and 1660, the sum of 16,345 merks, obtained a mortgage from him of a certain property which had been forfeited by the Marquis of Huntly and granted to Argyll, and as an additional security, he gave them a warranty over the estates of Suinart and Ardnamurchan, then Argyll's property. Having been duly infested in these lands, his relatives made them

over to Lochiel. On the death of Argyll, Huntly had the estates regranted to him free of all the debts, and Lochiel was thus left with nothing but his claim upon Suinart and Ardnamurchan. Parliament acknowledged this claim, and recommended that a charter of the lands should be granted to him "suitable to the extent of the sum" advanced by his relatives, but in consequence of the crafty and able tactics of his great enemy, the Duke of Lauderdale, he was unsuccessful in the end, though Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, Middleton, and the Crown were all in his favour. "The King, being perpetually dunned by the continued application of the greatest men of his Court, at last ordered Lauderdale to present the signature or grant of these lands to be superscribed by his Majesty, according to the usual form; and this being part of his office, as principal Secretary of State, he was obliged, after repeated orders, to comply at last. But when the grant came to be laid before the King, he took care that there should not be as much ink in the pen as would suffice to write the superscription, so that when his Majesty had wrote the word 'Charles' he wanted ink to add 'Rex,' and though the King often called for more," not another drop could be procured at the time, and the matter was left in that incomplete state, while Lauderdale induced several of Lochiel's enemies to raise actions against him for old scores, thus for the time skilfully diverting his attention from his claims on the lands in question.

The Earl of Callender succeeded in getting Parliament to grant him a claim against Lochiel for acts committed before the Restoration, but our hero was afterwards acquitted, the Earl being unable to substantiate the details of his claim before a Commission appointed for the purpose.

About the same time Mackintosh again began to press his ancient claims to the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig. With the nature of this claim the reader is already acquainted. On the advice of Lauderdale, Mackintosh, in 1661, petitioned Parliament, and ultimately obtained a decree adjudging the lands to him, and ordering Lochiel not only to divest himself of the property, but to find security that neither he nor his clan should for the future molest Mackintosh nor his tenants in the peaceable possession thereof, under a penalty of 20,000 merks. This happened in Lochiel's absence, he being at the time at Court in

London, pushing his claims to the lands of Suinart and Ardnamurchan, and to a pension of £300 sterling per annum which the King agreed to grant him, but never effectually carried out. The action of Parliament in this matter the Court of Session held to be an encroachment upon its privileges. The Chancellor, Lord Glencairne, wrote a letter to the "Lord President and Lords of Session, now sitting at Edinburgh," dated London, 7th June 1661, to the following effect :—

"Since I came to this place, I understand his Majesty has taken such notice of the Laird of Lochiell his faithful service done to him, that he has proposed a way for composing the difference betwixt Mackintosh and him, which will shortly come to your hands: I shall desire you, therefore, if Mackintosh offer to take advantage of Lochiell his absence, or to prevent his Majesty's commands by insisting in action before you against Lochiell, now in his absence, that you continue the action until you know his Majesty's further pleasure, which will be signified to you by my return. This being all at present.—I am, my Lords, &c.,

(Signed) "GLENCAIRNE."

The Lords of Session at once intimated the receipt of this letter to the Parliament and Privy Council, with the result that nothing was done until July 1662, when Mackintosh obtained a Decree of Removal against Lochiel and his clan from the lands in question, based on the sentence of Parliament of the previous year. The question was debated before the Lords of Session by the ablest men at the bar, and reasons given on both sides, for which much could be said; but legally, Lochiel had the worst of it, and decree went against him. He had, however, great influence at Court, and he determined to use it in this emergency. He at once petitioned the King, who gave him a private audience, and listened patiently to all he had to say. Lochiel urged upon his Majesty to interpose his authority, and compel Mackintosh to accept a sum of money in lieu of his claim for restitution of the lands; pointing out that, as the Camerons were, and had been, in possession for centuries, they would never give up the lands and their dwellings without great bloodshed. He foresaw the consequences of attempting to remove them by force, and he had good reasons to conclude that this would be the last occasion on which he himself would have the honour of seeing his King. "He had," he said, "been a great part of his youth a fugitive and outlaw for his attempting to serve his Majesty; but that gave him no great pain, because

he suffered in a glorious cause, and only shared in the common calamities of his country, but henceforth he must resolve to live among hills and deserts, a fugitive and vagabond, merely because he was the Chief of a clan for whom, though he was bound by the law, he was sure he could not answer when they came to be dispossessed by the ancient enemy of his family." To this his Majesty replied—"Lochiel, I know that you were a faithful servant to the Crown, and that you have often, with great bravery, hazarded your life and fortune in that cause; fear not that you shall be long an outlaw, whatever shall happen in that quarrel, while I have the power of granting a remission; but as to the affairs of law and private right, I will not meddle with it, but shall write to my Council to endeavour to compromise matters, so as to prevent public disturbance. In the meantime, I think it your interest to hinder Mackintosh's attaining to possession; and I assure you that neither life nor estate shall be in danger while I can save them." Lochiel felt naturally much encouraged by the reception he had received, and by the encouragement given him by the King. He informed the Duke of Albemarle of what had passed between them, and urged upon him to do all in his power to keep Mackintosh from getting into favour at Court. His Grace promised every assistance. The Duke of York, to whom Lochiel was previously known, used his influence with the King in his behalf. His Royal Highness had also recommended him to the Earl of Clarendon, then Prime Minister, and to several others of the leading men at Court, but the Earl of Lauderdale still continued his implacable enemy, and went the length of opposing the King writing to his Commissioners in Scotland in Lochiel's favour, as long as he could; but his Majesty having determined that his wishes in this should be at once carried out, the following letter was addressed "To our Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor, the Earl of Middleton, our Commissioner to our Parliament in Scotland":—

"CHARLES REX,

"Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousine and Counsellour, wee greit yow well.—We haveing formerly written to our Privy Councill about the difference likely to arise betwixt the Lairds of Macintoish and Locheill, we are still of the same opinion that though we will not meddle in the point of law or right, which (we are informed) is already determined, yet we have thought fitt to recommend to your

care, to endeavour so to settle and agree them as the peace of those parts be not disturbed. Given att Hampton Court, the 30th May 1662, and of our reign the 14th year.

"By his Majesty's command.

(Signed) "LAUDERDAILL."

Lochiel returned from London, and arrived in Edinburgh about the same time as this letter, when he found that a warrant for his seizure and imprisonment had been obtained by Mackintosh during his absence. He at once petitioned the Privy Council for protection. His request was granted, but it was only available to the 24th of June immediately following. During this interval he married his second wife, a daughter of Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart; and having done all he could to secure the active interest of his friends in Parliament and in the Privy Council, he left Edinburgh before his order of protection had expired, and in due time arrived with his young lady safely in Lochaber, to the great joy and gratification of his devoted clansmen.

Through Lauderdale's influence in the Privy Council, the King's letter was not read until the 4th of September following, and in the interval Mackintosh petitioned for a Commission of Fire and Sword against Lochiel and his friends. Through the influence of the Commissioner and Chancellor, Mackintosh, on this occasion, failed in his object; but in 1663 he was more successful, and obtained a warrant charging Lochiel to appear before the Council within fifteen days, upon certification that, if he did not, their Lordships would issue a Commission of Fire and Sword against him. He received information of what had occurred through his friend the Chancellor, but resolved not to appear, and the commission against him was issued. Among those named and authorised to execute it were the Marquis of Montrose, the Earls of Caithness, Murray, Athole, Errol, Marshall, Mar, Dundee, Airlie, Aboyne, and several others of the leading men in the Lowlands as well as in the Highlands. Letters of Concurrence and Intercommuning, or Outlawry were issued against Lochiel, and the whole Clan Cameron; while all the men between sixteen and sixty years of age in the Counties of Inverness, Ross, Nairn, and Perth, were ordered to convene in arms, and put the law in execution against "these rebels and outlaws," whenever Mackintosh should consider it fit to call

them together for that purpose. On his return to Dunachton, Mackintosh wrote to each of those named in the Commission, and afterwards visited them in person, urging upon them the necessity of preparing to carry out the Council's commands, but not one of them would move. On the contrary, they strongly opposed the action which he proposed, and urged upon him to accept the money payment which Lochiel was willing to give in satisfaction of his claim. Mackintosh then resolved to punish the Camerons by his own clan, with any of the neighbours which he could induce to join him. In this he was also unsuccessful, and Lochiel, in the meantime, to show his determination and ability to fight, sent several parties to the enemy's country, with instructions to carry away the cattle of such of the Mackintoshes as were still willing to follow their Chief on the proposed expedition to Lochaber. Mackintosh showed fight, and at once sent a party of his men on a similar expedition to Lochaber. Ultimately he arranged with his followers by granting them several demands which he had previously refused them, and so induced them to agree to follow him—going the length, in the case of the Macphersons, of granting "a renunciation of any title or pretence he had to the Chiefship, and a premium of £100 sterling" for their services on this occasion.

Lochiel was able to keep himself fully informed of his enemy's proceedings, and being so far in favour with the principal Lords of Parliament and of the Privy Council, he succeeded in procuring an order, signed by the Duke of Rothes, then—January 1665—the King's Commissioner to Parliament, commanding Mackintosh to appear in Edinburgh within a certain number of days, and directing him not to put his Commission of Fire and Sword in force until the pleasure of the Privy Council was made further known to him. Mackintosh reluctantly obeyed, but complained bitterly of the action taken against him. To this he received no reply but a peremptory command to remain in the city until Lochiel, who had also been sent for, should arrive. On the appointed day a meeting of the Privy Council was held, at which the Commissioner, Chancellor, all the principal Officers of State, and others in authority, were present. Both Lochiel and Mackintosh put in an appearance, and the King's letter was read in their hearing. The Chancellor stated that his

Majesty's zeal for the welfare and happiness of his people, and the particular commands which he had in consequence laid upon his Parliament and Council to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the parties by way of compromise, could not but have its due influence, and dispose them "to agree to such measures as should be agreeable to justice and the wisdom of his Majesty's Council." In answer to the questions put to them, both answered that they were willing to submit the dispute between them to the arbitration of the Privy Council. A few days later they were again called before the Council, when it was intimated to them that the Council had satisfied themselves as to the value of the lands in question, and the nature of all the questions in dispute. After a long argument the Chancellor recommended that they should, by the aid of friends, agree upon a price to be paid by Lochiel, stating at the same time that, failing this, the Council would proceed to settle the question. Lochiel and Mackintosh, with the aid of powerful friends and lawyers on either side, tried to come to an agreement, but they still differed so much that there was not the least probability of any terms being agreed upon. Within eight days they were again called before the Council, when it was declared, through the Chancellor, as their unanimous decision, that a sum of 72,000 merks paid by Lochiel to Mackintosh would be a just amount between the demands of the one and the offers of the other, and the Council decreed accordingly. Mackintosh would scarcely listen to this proposal, and he resolved to remove privately out of the city, without coming to any arrangement. His intentions were, however, discovered, and just as he was leaving he was arrested by order of the Council, and detained captive until he found security that he and his clan and followers should keep the peace. He finally offered voluntarily to delay the execution of his Commission against Lochiel for a year longer, on condition that the Council would agree to dispense with his finding caution for any but his own tenants. Lochiel and the Council agreed, and Mackintosh was allowed to return home. He, however, no sooner reached his destination than he called all the leaders of his clan to an entertainment, with their friends and followers, at his own house, and by granting such demands as they had been for some time making upon him,

induced them to subscribe a bond, obliging them to follow him in an expedition to Lochaber whenever he might call upon them to do so.

Lochiel, who was kept fully informed of what Mackintosh was doing, wrote to his friend, the Earl of Moray, then Sheriff of Inverness-shire, asking his lordship to hold his usual Circuit Courts in Badenoch, Strathspey, and neighbouring districts—where the Macphersons, and others, who usually followed Mackintosh, resided—and as his vassals were bound to attend the Earl on such occasions, they would not be able to follow Mackintosh. This plan was at once adopted by Moray, after which he marched to Inverness, to settle some disputes there between the Town and the Macdonalds.

At this time attempts were made among certain of his own friends to dissuade Mackintosh from proceeding to extremities, but he would listen to nothing but the carrying out of his own views; and he finally marched, at the head of an army of 1500 men to Lochaber, reaching the plain of Clunes, on the west side of the River Arkaig, where he encamped.

In connection with this expedition, we are informed that, "Lochiel, having heard that Mackintosh was on his march, thought it full time to provide for his defence, and in a few days he got together his whole clan; who, having been prepared beforehand, and willing for the service, were sooner with him than he expected. He was likewise joined by a small party of the MacIans of Glencoe, and another of the Macgregors, who offered their services as volunteers; and found, upon the muster, that he had got 900 armed with guns, broadswords, and targes, and 300 more who had bows in place of guns; and it is remarkable that these were the last considerable company of bowmen that appeared in the Highlands. With these he marched straight to Achnacarry, and encamped on the bank of the River Arkaig," immediately opposite the Mackintoshes, thus securing the only ford on the river. Here they remained facing each other for two days, after which Mackintosh moved his men two miles further west along the side of Loch-Arkaig. Lochiel, after throwing up an embankment at the ford, left it in charge of fifty doughty fellows, moved his main body westward, and took up his position opposite the Mackintoshes. Here he called a Council of War, and informed his

friends of his determination to settle the long-standing feud now, once and for all, by the sword. He expressed his full confidence in his men, and told them that as he had the King's promise of a remission, he had no apprehensions as to the result; concluding by telling them "that if any of them wanted inclination to engage, and had not put on a fixed resolution to die or conquer, he begged of them to retire, and he would afford them such opportunities as would save their honour." Such a cowardly action was spurned by every one present, and Lochiel determined to execute his plans that very night. In the meantime, John Campbell, younger of Glenurchy, afterwards First Earl of Breadalbane, who had been sent by the Earl of Argyll, arrived, and presented himself to Mackintosh with proposals of peace. A preliminary conference was arranged. The first day's deliberations produced no result. At a second meeting certain proposals were made to which the friends of both parties agreed, but Mackintosh rejected them, declaring that he would rather hazard his whole fortune than consent to such terms. His leading followers rebelled, refused to fight under existing conditions, but Mackintosh continued unbending. Next morning, however, his friends found him more willing to listen to reason. They offered to make up the difference in money themselves, and finally succeeded in inducing him to consent to the absolute sale of the lands to Lochiel on the terms previously offered, and now repeated by him, namely, 72,500, or just 500 merks more than the sum named as a fair compromise by the Privy Council a few years before. Mr Mackintosh - Shaw describes the final settlement in the following terms, which are quite consistent with the more detailed account given in "Lochiel's Memoirs":—While Mackintosh was undergoing the persuasive attempts of his friends, young Glenurchy had arrived at the Clan Chattan camp, and had shown additional reasons why those attempts ought to succeed in a force of 300 men which accompanied him, and in a written order from the Earl of Argyll to employ all the power of the latter, if necessary, to bring the dispute to an end. Campbell's arrival, and Mackintosh's assent, seem to have taken place at an opportune moment, as Lochiel had concocted one of the surprises for which he was famed, and in which he was generally successful. On the preceding night

he had dispatched Cameron of Erracht, with a body of picked men by boats, to the northern side of Loch-Arkaig, there to remain concealed until an opportunity should present itself of taking the enemy by surprise. He himself was, in the meantime, to make his way with the main body by the head of the loch to the same place, a distance of some eighteen English miles. He had not advanced far on his march when he was met by young Glenurchy, bringing back with him Erracht and his party. It was only by advancing the same cogent reasons which he had already urged upon Mackintosh that Glenurchy could prevail on Lochiel to give up his intention of fighting, and to consent to the agreement into which his opponent was now willing to enter. On the following day (Monday, 18th September), a formal contract was drawn up and signed, on the one hand binding Mackintosh to sell Glenlui and Locharkig to Lochiel, or any person he might nominate, and on the other binding Lochiel and six others to pay to Mackintosh 12,500 merks of the price in the town of Perth on the 12th of January 1666, and at the same time to give sufficient security for the payment of the remainder of the price at the Martinmas terms of 1666 and 1667. On the 20th, Lochiel crossed the Arkaig, and met his late enemy at the house of Clunes. Both were attended by their principal friends and clansmen. They "saluted each other," says the Kinrara MS., "drank together in token of perfect reconciliation, and exchanged swords, rejoicing at the extinction of the ancient feud." The feud had raged for three centuries and a-half, during which time, says tradition, with its usual looseness of expression, a Mackintosh and a Cameron had never even *spoken* together.*

The author of the *Memoirs* informs us that "Lochiel, though much fretted at the disconcerting of his measures, was still resolved to fight the enemy the very next day [after his arrival], and to continue his march, but Breadalbane [Glenurchy] told him roundly that he was equally allied to them both; that he came there to act the part of a mediator; and whoever of them proved refractory, he would not only join with the other against him, but also would bring all the power that Argyll was master of, with his own, into the quarrel; and he thereupon

* "History of the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan," pp. 381-382.

showed a communication he had from the Earl of Argyll to that purpose. Lochiel found himself under the necessity of consenting; and his firm resolution of fighting had this good effect that it hastened on the agreement, and in a manner compelled Mackintosh, who was pushed on by his people, to consent to these very proposals that had been formerly made by the Privy Council and afterwards by the Earl of Murray," on Lochiel's behalf. This agreement was concluded on the 20th of September 1665, about 360 years after the commencement of the quarrel, which was, perhaps, one of the longest duration mentioned in history, and, considering the strength of the parties, as bloody as any that we have any record of. Though Mackintosh gained nothing, Lochiel lost largely by it in men and property, and the final settlement was considered as favourable by the Camerons and their friends as they could possibly expect in the circumstances, though during the long period of the dispute they, in defence of their claim and position, "gave away or abandoned their original inheritance, which was four times above this in value, as their original charters from the Lords of the Isles, all confirmed by King James IV., with the charters granted by succeeding Princes, erecting the whole into a free Barony, with many powers and privileges, testify to this day; and all this, besides the loss of the pension of three hundred pounds sterling per annum," already mentioned, and of Suinart and Ardnamurchan, which now belonged to the Earl of Argyll, with the rest of his father's forfeiture, by a grant from the Crown.

(To be continued.)

TO THE CLAN CAMERON.—The Editor of the *Celtic Magazine* will esteem it a favour if members of the Clan Cameron will communicate with him, on an early day, with the view of completing full and correct genealogies of the respective branch families of the name, for his forthcoming "History of the Camerons." It is impossible for him to include the living and later members of the various branches in the work unless he is supplied, at least, with particulars as to the present generation. This has been already done in several cases. The complete work will contain, in addition to the General History of the Clan, Biographies of General Sir Allan Cameron of Erracht; Colonel John Cameron of Fassiefern; Dr Archibald Cameron; and other distinguished gentlemen of the Clan, and will be published by subscription, during the year, in a handsome volume of about five hundred pages, uniform with the author's "History of the Mackenzies," and his "History of the Macdonalds and Lords of the Isles. The Camerons of Glennevis, Erracht, Callart, Strone, Fassiefern, Clunes, and others, will be noticed at length under separate headings, while a genealogy of the Lochiel family will be brought down to date, in connection with the general history of the family.

ANCIENT CELTIC TENURES.

BY H. C. MACANDREW, PROVOST OF INVERNESS.

II.

THE law of succession is of course a powerful factor in regulating the development of any society. In the cases of the Mensal land of the chiefs there were instances of undivided succession; in the case of the Church lands there were instances of corporate and continuous possession. In the case of the families of the Flaths or chiefs there is described a very artificial and complicated system of a family of seventeen persons, consisting of three groups of four and one of five, and representing the relations of the chiefs in four different degrees, he himself being the fifth member of one group. These had certain complicated rights of succession among the groups on the extinction of any of them, which it is very difficult to understand, and which could hardly have been long in practical operation. Apart from this, the rule seems to have been that of gavel-kind, as it is called in England; that is equal distribution among children, and under this custom in Ireland, daughters might succeed if there were no sons; and there was a certain power of bequest.

If I am at all correct in the picture which I have here given, it is clear that there was a state of society in which the idea of individual property in land, or of the exclusive right to the possession and enjoyment of land, had gone a considerable way, and if further evidence of this were wanting, numerous instances could be given of regulations for the letting of land on hire. On the other hand, there are many provisions showing that the power of dealing with land was limited by the rights of the tribe and of the family, and although in the Book of Armagh, whose date is about the year 800, there is a case of a sale of land recorded in the following terms:—"Cummin and Brethan purchased Ochtern-Achid with its appurtenances, both wood and field, and plain and meadow, together with its habitation and its garden"—this seems to be a solitary instance of a direct sale, while it seems to be an excellent description of the early settlement. While thus

we have individual rights limited by tribal and family rights, it must always be kept in mind that there existed the undoubted right of the free tribesman to a share of the common tribe land and grazing on the tribe waste or common.

In the case of Ireland, outside the pale, as I have said, the Brehon Law continued in force until the time of James the First, when, by a decision of the Court, it was abolished, and the law of England imposed on the country, and, as a consequence, all rights subordinate to those of chiefs ignored. The state of matters which then existed on land which had not previously been forfeited and granted to Englishmen is thus described by Sir John Davis, Attorney-General for Ireland, in 1606. In speaking of M'Guire's country, he says :—"Touching the free land, we found them to be of three kinds : (1) Church lands, or termon lands as the Irish call it ; (2) the Mensal lands of M'Guire ; and (3) land given to certain septs privileged among the Irish, viz., the lands of the chroniclers, rimers, and gallowglasses"—the last representing, as I take it, the free tribesmen.

There is no existing evidence that any such code of laws as the Brehon Laws was ever committed to writing in Scotland, but there is, I think, ample evidence that the picture I have attempted to draw was as applicable to Celtic Scotland previous to the time of Malcolm Canmore as it was to Ireland. In the Book of Deer we have mention of gifts by Toseichs, Mormaers, and chiefs of clans ; and we have grants by these showing that they had each certain rights in the land, or rights to certain duties and tributes out of it. Thus, grants are given free of Mormaer and Toseich, that is free of the payments and services which these could exact. There is mention also of Brehons or Judges, and in old charters and other records we find numerous mention of duties and services, exactly analogous to those of the Brehon Laws existing in Scotland, to comparatively recent dates. To adduce proofs of this would occupy much too great a space for our present purpose, but those who are interested in the subject will find it fully discussed in the third volume of Skene's "History of Celtic Scotland," and in his appendix to the second volume of "Fordun's Chronicle," recently published.

The ancient law of Scotland was not, as in Ireland, all at once abolished by statute or by decision of a court or of a king;

but from the time of Malcolm MacKenneth it was subjected to contact with, and the influence from, other systems, which gradually obliterated all its distinctive features. This began with the acquisition of Lothian in 1018, and increased with the accession of Malcolm Canmore and his marriage with the Saxon Princess, Margaret. And during his time, and the times of his immediate successors, Saxon language and Saxon law and customs spread over the country outside the Highland line. With the Norman conquest of England, Norman and Feudal ideas began to penetrate into Scotland, till in the time of David I. the country became a Feudal Monarchy; and it was assumed, although never formally enacted, that all the land in the country belonged to the King, and that there could be no legal title to land except a grant from the King, or from some person holding a grant from him. Under these influences, the Mormaers became earls, and ultimately the earldoms all became feudalised, although there long—down, at least, to the time of the War of Independence—remained a distinction between the ancient earldoms of Scotland and the newer feudal earldoms created by the kings. The Toseichs became Thanes, and a number of Thanages existed for a very considerable time principally on the borders of the Highlands, and never penetrating far within the Highland line, but these gradually were lost or were converted into Feudal Baronies—the only one where the name is retained, so far as I know, being Cawdor—the lands possessed by Lord Cawdor being still designated in his charters as the barony, or, perhaps now, the earldom and thanage of Cawdor.

From the time of David First it may be said that the Feudal Law was the law acknowledged by the supreme power, and in the parts of the country where the Saxon language prevailed, it was the law in practice as well as in theory, although vestiges of the old Celtic usages lingered long, especially on the lands held by the Church, and on the lands which remained in the hands of the Crown.

In the district of the country where the Gaelic language prevailed, however, older ideas remained, and had vital force until the power of the central government became supreme after the last rebellion, and feudal ideas made their way very slowly, although there is no doubt that they were gradually penetrating.

The vigour with which the tie of kindred remained in force is instanced by the Clan system itself, and by the superiority which the tie of clanship bore to any tie arising from mere relationship arising out of the land. Of this there are instances without number: Landed gentlemen who held their land on the same tenure as the chiefs themselves—that is, from the Crown or from some intermediate superior—followed the chief rather than the feudal superior. Tenants who held their lands from alien landlords followed the chief to whom by blood they owed allegiance. Of this, too, there are numerous and well-known instances. That there remained an idea of a right to land better and older than any feudal title, is likewise proved by many well-known instances. Dunmaglass was purchased by the family of Cawdor from William Menzies in 1419, but the Macgillivrays possessed it then, and had possessed it from time immemorial, and continued to possess it until after 1621, when they acquired first a wadset, and afterwards a feudal right. Before they acquired a written title they held by "Duchus" or native right, but they were in law only tenants of the Thane of Cawdor. But while he held by "Duchus," and when he was a feudal vassal of the Thane, the head of the house of Macgillivray was an important member of the Clan Chattan, and commanded the clan at Culloden, although his feudal superior was a Whig. Lochiel held Glenlui and Loch-Arkaig for 360 years in spite of written charters in favour of Mackintosh of Mackintosh, and only acquired a written title in 1666, and by a transaction which was carried through in front of two hostile armies which were met to contest the right. The Macdonalds of Keppoch fought the last clan battle in the year of the great Revolution in defence of their native right to the ancient habitation of the tribe, as against the paper right of the Mackintosh; and in 1745, when the head of the sept was in law only a tenant of Mackintosh, he led his tribe to Culloden in the following of his natural chief, Glengarry. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the legal possession of land tended more and more to become a powerful factor in the development which was going on. The Frasers of Lovat were a Norman family who came to this country and acquired land in quite historic times, and yet they very shortly became the heads of a powerful and united clan. Whether the founder of the

Chiefship of the Mackenzies was a Fitzgerald or native Highlander, he also, in comparatively recent times, rose to power, and became the head of a, so to speak, homogeneous clan. It is evident, however, that all the Frasers, or all the Mackenzies, could not be blood relations of the chief, and that the tie of clanship arose, to some extent at all events, out of the possession of land; but the readiness with which the belief in community of race was accepted is, perhaps, as strong a proof as any of the strength of the tribal idea. The people could not think of the tie between Chief and clan as arising out of anything but common origin, and when such common origin did not exist, the fiction that it did was accepted as a belief.

While, therefore, the ancient ideas continued to have force in the Highlands, they worked, so to speak, under the ever-deepening shadow of the feudal system, and what resulted after the break up of the great tribal organisations represented by the Mormaerships, and afterwards by the Celtic earldoms, and later, as it appears to me, by the descendants of Somerled, who, for several centuries exercised so singular a power in the Western and Central Highlands—a power which, as I think, can only be accounted for on the supposition that they were believed to be the representatives of the ancient order of things—was the clan system. The value of feudal titles was very early seen, and when we come to have an intimate knowledge of the country in later times, we find that it was all, like the rest of Scotland, held under feudal tenure, although, as I have said, the feudal right of the stranger was often disputed by the ancient possessor. But while it is not to be forgotten that feudal rights became general, it is always to be borne in mind that the fact that the Chiefs or landowners had obtained feudal titles to their land did not in any way affect the position, or, according to their view, the rights of those who occupied under them; that it was only after a time, and then by slow degrees, that the feudal titles would be put forward as the foundation of rights which the ancient customs did not warrant, and especially that it was only with the increase of the power of the central authority to enforce its law that the worth of a clansman, as such, came into competition with his worth as a tenant or contributor of rent to the Chief.

The Clan system, although waning, existed, as we know, till

the great rebellion of 1745-6, and then it succumbed, not to the force of any law directly abolishing it, but to an Act abolishing heritable jurisdictions and certain incidents of feudal holding, and which, by converting the Chiefs into mere modern landlords, deprived them to a great degree of the interest which they had formerly had in their clansmen, and deprived the clansmen of all value to them except as contributors to their revenue.

We have recently had it laid down that the clan never was an institution recognised by the law, and that there now exists no means of deciding in what membership of a clan consisted. The clan, however, was till recently a very potent fact. It is beyond doubt that it was a survival from an earlier state, and it becomes interesting to enquire to what extent we can find in what existed before the final break up of the clans traces of the much earlier social and political condition represented in the Brehon Laws.

What I say on this subject must, in the first place, be very short; and in the second place must be more or less speculative, for the history of the social condition and progress of the Highland people has yet to be written. Still, the view I take seems to me to represent so very much what we might expect from what we know of the causes at work, that it presents itself to my mind with considerable force.

In the first place, then, it appears to me that in the Chief of a clan we have the representative, if not always the successor, of the Ri-Tuath or Toseich, the head of a tribe. The Flaths, or subordinate Chiefs of families and septs, are represented by the heads of the smaller septs in clans, such as the Clan Chattan, by the smaller landed proprietors owning a clan allegiance to a superior chief, and by the great gentlemen tacksmen holding large tracts of land with numerous sub-tenants. All these, I think, represent the sept or family within the clan in different stages of development. Those septs which had been longest in existence, and were the more numerous and powerful, would naturally trace descent from their immediate founder, and look on themselves as a sub-race. When feudal ideas began to make way, the larger proprietors, or holders of separate portions of land, would naturally seek to obtain feudal rights in their own favour; and on the other hand, as we have seen that all Flaths, or minor chiefs, were more or less in a sense ceiles of the Ri-Tuath or Toseich, inasmuch as they

were bound to submit to the relation implied in taking stock from him, it would naturally follow that when the Toseich obtained a feudal right to the whole tribe land, the Flaths would come to be regarded by him as his tenants, and would ultimately come to regard themselves as such. That the giving of stock by the superior to the inferior survived in the custom of Steelbow tenancy, is, I think, beyond question. In the more or less inferior septs which we find attached to some clans, and having no Chief of their own, we see, I think, the descendants of Fuidirs, or strangers and broken men whom the Chiefs had settled on their land, although instead of employing them as cultivators, the circumstances of the country rendered it more convenient for the Chiefs to employ them as cattle lifters. The Macphies, for instance, dwelt on Lochiel's land, and owned him as their Chief, but they did not suppose themselves to be of his blood or lineage, and if tradition does not belie them, their principal employment was to be his thieves. In Donald Bain Lean, in "Waverley," we have a modern instance of the Fuidir as employed in the Highlands.

The most interesting question, however, is that as to where we are to look for the representatives in modern times of the great body of free tribesmen too poor to be privileged or to be much noticed in records or in history, yet inheriting the right of free tribesmen to a living on the tribe land. To me it seems beyond all doubt that these are found in the townships and club farms which were once so numerous all over the Highlands, and which, in a modified, and, it appears to me, somewhat degraded form, exist in the crofter communities of to-day. I am aware it has been contended, on the evidence of old rentals, that this class of small tenants is a modern development, and we are told that because they are not to be found in the rentals of the larger proprietors they did not exist. But it is to be kept in mind that the large tacksmen were to a great extent middlemen, and that such communities would in later days hold under them, and would not appear in the proprietor's rental. That such communities were numerous in all parts of the Highlands every one who travels over the country may see. That they might exist without appearing in the proprietor's rental one instance may be sufficient to show. My friend, Mr William Mackay, has kindly shown me an extract which he made from the records of the

Baron Bailie Court of The Chisholm in 1657, where it is set forth that upwards of eighty persons were fined in one day for various offences. These persons are all described in groups as tenants in such and such a place, yet none of them appear in the rent roll of the proprietor. That such communities are ancient, may, I think, fairly be inferred from the fact that on the lands held by Macdonald of Keppoch, the last in Scotland which submitted to the feudal laws, there are several of them existing till this day. If any one should contend that such communities are a result of the modern relation of landlord and tenant, it is only necessary for the refutation of such a contention to read the account which Mr Carmichael has given of certain townships still existing in North Uist, and which is embodied in the third volume of Skene :

"The townland of Hosta is occupied by four, Caolas Paipil by six, and the island of Heisgeir by twelve tenants. Towards the end of autumn, when harvest is over, and the fruits of the year have been gathered in, the constable (Constabal, Foirfeadeach) calls a meeting of the tenants of the townland for Nabachd (preferably Nabuidheachd, neighbourliness). They meet, and having decided upon the portion of land (Leob, Clar) to put under green crop next year, they divide it into shares according to the number of tenants in the place, and the number of shares in the soil they respectively possess. Thereupon they cast lots (Crannachuradh, Cur chrann, Tilgeadh chrann, Crannadh), and the share which falls to a tenant he retains for three years. A third of the land under cultivation is thus divided every year. Accordingly, the whole cultivated land of the townland undergoes redivision every three years. Should a man get a bad share he is allowed to choose his share in the next division. The tenants divide the land into shares of uniform size. For this purpose they use a rod several yards long, and they observe as much accuracy in measuring their land as a draper in measuring his cloth. In marking the boundary between shares, a turf (Torc) is dug up and turned over along the line of demarcation. The 'torc' is then cut along the middle, and half is taken by the tenant on one side and half by the tenant on the other side, in ploughing the subsequent furrow ; similar care being afterwards exercised in cutting the corn along the furrow. The tenant's portion of the runrig is termed Cianag, and his proportion of the grazing for every pound he pays, Coir-sgoraidh."

This, obviously, is a survival of a very ancient community, and it appears to me that wherever there are traces of land having been held in runrig, we have traces of a portion of the ancient free tribeland, with its grazing rights attached, common to the inhabitants of the township, and perhaps to them in common with the inhabitants of other townships, held anciently by the tribesmen in right of their membership of the tribe, and subject only to the dues and services which, as tribesmen and householders, they owed to their tribal or family chief. And wherever

there is such a holding the individual property of any one, we have an instance of the absorption—if we may not use a stronger word—of tribal rights; accomplished, no doubt, through the course of centuries, and latterly, at all events, acquiesced in by the people; for by the time of the breaking up of the Clan system the possessors of such holdings seem in common with the larger holders to have accepted the position of tenants, either under lease or at will. The last relic of the tribal right to land we have, I think, surviving, is the dislike to leases which the crofters of this day exhibit; and this dislike can only, I think, have originated in the idea that by accepting a lease they relinquish an older and more permanent right.

THE HIGHLAND WIDOW.

In a sheltering nook, from the tempest and rain,
 Stood the widow's lone cot, like a grotto so clean;
 There her cow and her croft were the last to remain
 Of all the rude grandeur her fathers had seen;
 And the cliff of the mountain towered high overhead,
 Where fortune her life's humble portion had laid.

She sprung from a line who were chieftains of old,
 And ranked with the fierce and the valiant of yore,
 Faced the barbarous Cumyns, the bloody and bold,
 And wielded like giants the cleaving claymore;
 'Gainst the power of oppression their banner was borne,
 In the ranks of the Bruce crushed the champion of Lorne.

No grasping, luxurious, degenerate race,
 The rights of their clansmen like brothers would shield;
 They merrily joined them in sports of the chase,
 And valued them not as the beasts of the field;
 Nor their country a people-less desert was then,
 When our kings cried for aid from the bravest of men.

She had seen a wide region of hamlets in flames,
 And her kinsmen sent out mid the mountains to die.
 Still, the tyrants, remorseless as fiends to their pains,
 Though the heavens should rend and the desolate cry,
 Stood callous, unmoved at the shrieks of despair,
 With adamant hearts, for no pity was there.

With the armies of India and legions of Spain,
 They, sturdy of limb, ever stood to the foe ;
 They were still with the conquerors again and again,
 Where a Briton would dare, there a clansman would go ;
 In the tumult of danger they ever have been,
 Gaining laurels of war for our Empire and Queen.

For such they had reaped the abundant reward
 Of the howl of the tiger, while hunted to shame ;
 For such did their forefathers die by the sword,
 Exalting their lordlings to honour and fame ;
 The savage, she thought, gave a home to their kind—
 Seemed the warmer of heart, though the dormant of mind.

For the exiled her prayers still fervently rose,
 Like the incense of balm from her garden of flowers ;
 Her riches was love in a soul of repose,
 Not the wealth that embitters the while it empowers ;
 And she thought of the brave who had gone in their prime,
 Like the beauty that's lost in the vista of time.

Their letters, like heirlooms, she read and re-read,
 As her memory lingered o'er happiness gone,
 Then her tears o'er the doom of her country were shed,
 Where she drooped like a briar in a desert alone ;
 Where clansmen once lived in contentment and cheer,
 Were the wandering flocks and the homes of the deer.

The great ones on earth are not always the blest :
 The blest are the nearest the Heavenly Throne ;
 For that land by her son was her head laid to rest,
 In the land she had cherished and loved as her own ;
 And that son, who for long did her absence bewail,
 For a home far away left the land of the Gael.

And the avalanche fell from the mountain of snow,
 And the once cosie cottage in ruins was laid,
 And the owl nightly cries with his sad plaint of woe,
 And the croaking dark ravens their pinions have spread
 Where the notes of the pibroch was borne on the gale,
 And the song of the maiden gave joy to the vale.

O land of my sires, like a land of the dead,
 Thou art silent and dreary, a wilderness sad,
 With the grandeur around thee that nature has spread,
 Where once were the tribes in frugality glad.
 To the festival joys, and the dance on the green,
 Return, oh return, and enliven the scene !

Greenock.

KENNETH MACLACHLAN.

CELTIC MYTHOLOGY.

BY ALEXANDER MACBAIN, M.A., F.S.A. SCOT.

X.—GODS OF THE GAELS.

WHATEVER interpretation we give to the *Feru-bolg* and the *Fomorian*s, there can be little question as to the fact that the *Tuatha-De-Danann* are the Gaelic gods. The Irish historians, as we saw, represent them as kings with subjects, but even they find it difficult to hide the fact that some of these kings and queens afterwards appear on the scene of history in a supernatural fashion. The myths and tales, however, make no scruple to tell us that the *Tuatha-De-Danann* still live in Fairyland, and often take part in human affairs. In a very ancient tract which records a dialogue between St Patrick and *Caoilte Mac Ronain*, they are spoken of as "sprites or fairies, with corporeal and material forms, but indued with immortality." Their skill in magic, shown in their manipulation of storms, clouds, and darkness, is insisted on in all the myths, and is a source of trouble to the historians and annalists, who regard them as mere mortals. "They were called gods," says Keating, "from the wonderfulness of their deeds of sorcery." To them is first applied the term *Side*, which in modern Gaelic means "fairy," but which in the case of the *Tuatha-De-Danann* has a much wider signification, for it implies a sort of god-like existence in the "Land of Promise." The Book of Armagh calls the *Side* "*deos terrenos*," earthly gods, whom, we are told in *Fiacc's* hymn, when Patrick came, the peoples adored—"tuatha adorta *Side*." *Sid* was a term applied to the green knolls where some of these deified mortals were supposed to dwell: the word appears in the modern Gaelic *sith* and *sithean*, a mound or rather a fairy mound. The *Tuatha-De-Danann* were also called "*Aes Side*," *aes* being here used in the sense of "race" and not of "age." We may remark that the Norse gods were also known as the *Aes* or *Aesir*, one of the many remarkable coincidences in words and in actions between the Irish gods and the deities of Asgard.

In attempting to reconstruct the Gaelic god-world from the almost hopeless ruins in which piety and time have laid it, we must

not merely remember the Aryan character of it, but also Cæsar's brief account of the Gaulish Olympus. There can be little doubt but that the Gaelic and Gaulish Olympi were similar in outline, and probably also in details. We shall, therefore, expect Mercury to be the most important of the Gaelic deities, while Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva take rank after him. These deities and others, as was pointed out, represent the personified powers of nature—the wind, the sun, the storm, the sky, and the moon. Not only are these elements personified as deities and so worshipped, but we also find the elements in their impersonified state, as it were, invoked for aid and for good faith. The classical examples of this are extremely numerous. One instance will suffice: In Virgil, Æneas and Latinus are represented as swearing by the sun, the earth, the sea, the stars, by the Almighty Father and his Spouse, by Mars and Janus, by the spring and rivers, the ether and the deities of the sea. The first instance of such an oath in Irish history is when Breas, the Fomorian, swore by "the sun and the moon, by the sea and the land, and by all the elements, to fulfil the engagement" which Luga imposed on him. Vows to the heavens and the earth, to day and night, to the rain, the dew and the wind, are exceedingly common, appearing even in historic times both in Ireland and Scotland; among the Picts and Scots in the 4th century, in Ireland in the 5th, as when Loegaire was made to swear by the elements that he would never again demand the cow-tribute, and with M'Conglinne in the 8th century. It is said that Loegaire forgot his oath, and thus met with an evil end, for "it was the sun and the wind that wrought his death, because he had violated their sanctity;" so say the Four Masters, good Christians though they were! The divine elements are known in Gaelic as *duli*, and one of the oldest and most favourite epithets of the Deity is "*rig na n-dul*," the King of the Elements, to which may be compared "*Dia nan dul*" of the Gaelic Psalms: the word for Creator in old Gaelic is *Dulem*, the genitive of which is *Duleman*.

Our description of the Gaelic gods will naturally begin with the Jupiter of the Gaels. This honour belongs most probably to the Dagda, "in Dagda mor," "the great good one" (?) as Mr Fitzgerald explains his name. Some interpret the name as the "good fire." In any case, *dag* signifies "good," appearing in

modern Gaelic as *deagh*, but what *da* means is yet undecided. Though the Dagda is very often mentioned, yet little information is given about him. He was one of the leaders of the Tuatha-De-Danann from Scythia to Ireland, and he brought with him from "Murias" a magical cauldron capable of satisfying the hunger of everyone. He is the most renowned of all the Tuatha for his skill in Druidism. With Luga he makes and carries out all the arrangements of the second battle of Moytura, in which, however, he was wounded with a poisoned weapon by the amazon queen Cethlenn. The venom of that wound caused his death 120 years later. For eighty years previous to his death, he ruled the Tuatha as king. There is little in these meagre details to help us to a true notion of the character of the Dagda. It is in the epithets attached to his name, and the incidental references to him, scattered through many tales, that we can hope to understand his position among the gods. He is called Eochaidh Ollathair, that is, Chevalier All-father, and, further, Ruadrofhessa, "the red one of all knowledge." The epithet "Ollathair"—All-father—puts him on a level with Jupiter, Zeus, and Odin; he is the father of gods and men, king of heaven and earth. Zeus, we know, is the sky-god, the beneficent power of light and life, who regulates the atmosphere and its phenomena—notably, the thunder—for the good of men: Odin is, however, a wind-god more than a sky-god, answering rather to the Roman Mercury and the Greek Hermes than to Jove and Zeus. Is the Dagda a wind-god or a light-god or a fire-god? Mr Fitzgerald classes him with Odin as a sky- and wind-god, and appeals to the epithet "Eochaid"—horseman—as confirmation; for horseman and huntsman are nearly allied, and seem rather to belong to the wind deity, as in the case of Odin they do so apply. Mr Elton makes the Dagda a spirit of heat who ruled all fires in earth and heaven, for he interprets the name after O'Donovan as signifying "the great good fire." The view which we will adopt on the matter differs from both the foregoing. The Dagda represents rather the sky-god, exactly the Roman Jove. He is the All-father; he is the Red-one—the sky in certain states being so, just as at other times he is said to be "greyer than the grey mist"—who is all-wise; he is the Dag-da, the good-father or good-one, the deus optimus maximus, the benign provi-

dence, who arranges, provides, and superintends everything. His cauldron is interpreted by some as the canopy of heaven; like the thunder-god, Thor, he possessed a hand-stone which returned of itself to the place from which it was thrown, just as Thor's hammer—the thunder-bolt—did.

The most important deity in the Gaelic pantheon must have been Mercury: which of the Tuatha-De-Danann was he? The honour of being the god most worshipped by the Gael must fall to Manannan, the son of Lir, whose attributes we have already discussed. Manannan is always a deity; he is never a mortal hero like the others. We represented him as god of sea and wind, as opposed to Mr Elton's view, who made him a sun-god. There is little doubt but Manannan is a wind-god: he possesses all the prominent requisites of such a deity. He is the owner of the wonderful steed, Enbarr, of the flowing mane, who is swift as the cold clear wind of spring; his also is the sword, Frecart, the answerer, from whose wound there was no recovery; and he possessed the curious mantle that will cause people never to meet again. The three characteristic possessions of Odin are his sword, his mantle, and his horse Sleipnir. The sword is the lightning; the mantle is the air and clouds, and the grey horse Sleipnir is the rushing grey cloud driven by the wind. Odin is, as already said, mostly a wind-god; so, too, is Manannan. Both deities, however, usurped features belonging to more departmental gods, in proportion as they took the first place in the worship of the people. Manannan also possessed the wonderful canoe which could hold any number of people, suiting its size to them, and which obeyed the will of those it bore, and swept over the ocean as fast as the March wind. He, too, instituted the "Feast of Age," known as the feast of Gobnenn the smith. Whoever was present at it, and partook of the food and drink, was free ever after from sickness, decay, and old age. The Land of Promise is often identified with *Inis-Mhanann*, or Isle of Man, which was ruled over by Manannan, but his connection with the land of promise is rather more like that of Mercury with the land of shades; he would appear to have been the psychopomp—the conductor of the shades of men to the happy Isles of the West. He was, as we saw, god of merchandise and also god of arts for he is represented as teaching Diarmat in all the arts when he was with him in Fairyland. Why the Celts and Teutons made

the wind deity their chief god is fairly clear. The atmospheric conditions of Western and Northern Europe make the wind and storm powers of comparatively more importance than they are in sunnier lands, where the gods of light on the other hand are supreme. Manannan is further very properly denominated the "son of Lir," the son of the sea, for sure enough where else does the wind come from in these islands of ours but from the sea?

There is little trouble in settling the identity of the Gaelic Apollo. This is Luga Lamfada, surnamed the Ildana; Luga of the Long Arms, the many-armed one. He appears with a stately band of warriors on white steeds, "a young champion, tall and comely, with a countenance as bright and glorious as the setting sun." But more definite still is the reference to his *sunlike* countenance; in another place the Fomorian champion, Breas, is made to say in reference to the approach of Luga from the west: "A wonderful thing has come to pass to-day; for the sun, it seems to me, has risen in the west." "It would be better that it were so," said the Druids. "The light you see is the brightness of the face and the flashing of the weapons of Luga of the Long Arms, our deadly enemy." He also possessed the swiftness and keenness of the ocean-wind-god Manannan, for we are told that he rode Manannan's mare Enbarr of the flowing mane, that is, the driving wind; his coat of mail—the clouds; and he is further represented as having Manannan's sword, the lightning flash. But this last is doubtful, for two of the precious jewels that the Tuatha-De-Danann took from the east are Luga's sword and his spear "Gae Buafneach," tempered in the poisoned blood of adders. These weapons are merely the flashing rays of the sun, just as Luga's helmet, Cannbarr, glittered with dazzling brightness, with two precious stones set in it, one in front and one behind. Whenever he took off the helmet, we are told that his "face shone like the sun on a dry summer day." His deeds are also "sunlike" in their character. He first frees the Tuatha from the hated tribute which was imposed on them after a temporary success on the part of the Fomorians. We are told that he put a Druidical spell on the plundered cattle, and sent all the milch cows home to their owners, leaving the dry cows to cumber his enemies. The cows of the sun-god are famous in all mythologies; they are the clouds of heaven that bring rain and moisture to men, when shone upon by the rays of the sun.

Luga's greatest feat is the overthrow of the Fomorians at Moytura. For years he had been preparing for this great fight. He summoned all the artists and artificers of renown and got arms in readiness. He himself lent his help to each tradesman, for he was a skilled carpenter, mason, smith, harper, druid, physician, cup-bearer, and goldsmith, "one who embodied in himself all these arts and professions," as he described himself on one occasion. When the sons of Turenn slew his father, he made them procure for him as "eric" or fine, several weapons of importance and several salves, with a view to using them in the great struggle against the stormy ocean powers. Such were the apples of Hisberna, which could cure any sickness and would return to the owner even when thrown away; the pig's skin whose touch made whole; the spear—"the slaughterer"—whose fiery blazing head was always kept in water; the steeds and chariot of Dobar—the steeds which travel with equal ease on land and sea; the pigs of Asal—"whosoever eats a part of them shall not suffer from ill health"—even when killed to-day they are alive to-morrow; and the hound-whelp Failinis, that shines like the sun on summer day—before him every wild beast falls to earth powerless. In the battle of Moytura, he killed Balor of the Evil Eye. That worthy had already turned Nuada of the Silver Hand into stone, and many more De-Danann, and just as he was opening it on Luga, the latter flung a "sling stone" at it, which passed through it and Balor's brain. Now Balor was his grandfather, and it had been foretold that he should be slain by his grandson. In view of this he kept his only child, a daughter, Aethlenn, secluded in a tower, where man and the idea of "man" were to be strictly excluded. But in vain. She became the wife of Cian, the son of Diancecht, the physician, and Luga was the offspring. We must note his connection with the god of healing; that god is his grandfather. In Greek mythology, Aesculapius is the son of Apollo. The name Luga, too, is suggestive; it is doubtless from the root *luc*, to shine, and it is interesting to observe that the Norse fire-god, also master of many arts, though evil arts, is called Loki. The epithet *Lamfada*, long arms, reminds us of the far-darter Apollo, and refers to the long-shooting rays of the sun—a most appropriate epithet.

(To be continued.)

SUTHERLAND EVICTIONS AND BURNINGS.

TESTIMONY OF LIVING EYE-WITNESSES—(*Continued*).

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HUGH MACKENZIE, *Strathy, 90 years of age.*

I am nearly 90 years of age. I remember the clearances on Strathnaver from beginning to end. The work was done piece-meal. My father's croft was in Dalmalart, near Achness, and the first part of Strathnaver from which the people were ejected lies on the east side of Lochnaver, viz.:—The townships of Clebrig, Rhihalvaig, Achool, Achness, Coirre-na-fearn, Coirre-chuiran, Alt-nan-ha, and Halmadary. The reason why so many places were made desolate, was to make room for a south-country farmer of the name of Marshall.

We were allowed the produce of hill and loch, and I remember it was Sellar personally who cut to pieces the creels with which we caught the salmon on the waterfall of Achness. My father, who was on the lower side of the water of the Malert, was not removed at that time. At a subsequent period, the west side of Lochnaver was cleared, including the townships of Grumb-mhor, containing about 16 crofters; and Grumbeg, 5 crofters, and Sellar obtained the land. My father wished to be removed as far as possible from the large farmers, and he obtained a croft near the sea-side. Another succeeded him, and took possession of his old croft at Dalmalart, but he was not allowed long to remain there, as Sellar was by no means satisfied. All the people from Malart to Rhifail—about 10 miles—were shortly after removed, and their houses fired. This was the second period when clearances on a large scale took place. Sellar also received the land, and put it under sheep. The remaining portion of Strathnaver, from Rhifail to the foot of the Strath, was not removed so long as Mr Dingwall was minister of Farr, who acted as a check upon the wholesale clearances. When the Rev. David Mackenzie succeeded him, he was not opposed to the work; so the people did not dare to resent. By this means the people in the lower part were ejected, and Sellar was again the new occupant. I may mention that the Rev. Mr Mackenzie was allowed 50 sheep on Sellar's farm at Skelpick; that, irrespective of his glebe, he got a park of 5 miles in circumference, cut off from the poor crofters' hill-ground, and a man having a salary of £10 to keep the dykes in repair.

When Sellar was setting fire to the house of William Chisholm, spoon-maker, Badinlosgin, he was told that Chisholm's mother-in-law was inside and bed-ridden. He told his men, however, to proceed with the work, saying with an oath—"Let the old witch burn." There was no house in the place but his own, and owing to his trade, Chisholm could not afford to remain long at home. Eric, his wife (the old woman's daughter), happened to be from home at the time the house was fired; but she shortly after, and with the help of some people who had come upon the scene, rescued the old woman from the flames. I knew the man Chisholm well.

HUGH MACKENZIE.

Witnesses { ADAM GUNN.
 { RODERICK MACKENZIE.

ANN MORRISON, *79 years of age, Dalacharn, Farr.*

I was born at Direadh Meidigh, where I lived till I was seven or eight years of age, and then was evicted to Dalacharn, where I now live. I saw the following townships burnt by Sellar's party:—

Dalnadroit, with 10 houses.

Skelpick, with 12 houses.

Dunviden, with 6 houses.

Thus I can testify to seeing 28 houses burning on the same day. A strong breeze of wind sprang up the night before these townships were set on fire, and next morning when the burning commenced smoke and sparks were carried down the Strath for a long distance.

The houses in Achina and Dalacharn, which were a good distance away from the scene of the fire, were in imminent danger of taking fire too; the sparks were so thick. All the steadings and dwelling places in the above mentioned townships were reduced to ashes, and in many places the heather caught fire, which added to the awfulness of the scene.

The houses, too, were thatched with dry, loose straw, and this rendered them the more liable to catch fire.

Some of the poor people who came down from Strathnaver lost the most of their furniture and bed-clothes in their burnt houses, and were in a miserable condition during the ensuing winter. They had to spend the winter in hastily-erected bothies, without much clothing, while the rain and snow came in through the openings in the turf walls. As they had no hill pasture or provision for the winter, the most of the cattle which they had brought with them died of starvation.

I declare this statement of mine is true.

ANN MORRISON.

Witnesses, { DONALD MACKAY.
20th Aug. 1883 { MURDO MACKAY.

ABSTRACT OF THE FOREGOING TESTIMONY.

<i>The places seen on fire—</i>		Brought forward.....		83
<i>By George Macdonald, Airdneskich, were—</i>		<i>By Bell Cooper, Crask—</i>		
Badinlogsin, with 1 house.....	1	All the houses in the district		
<i>By George Mackay, Airdneskich—</i>		between Rossal and Achcaoilnaborgin,		
Ceanncoille, with 7 houses		about 55.....		55
Kidsary, with 2 houses		<i>By Angus Mackay, Leaduaginllan—</i>		
Syre, with 13 houses		Ceanncaoil, with 7 houses		
Langall, with 8 houses		Rossal, with 20 houses		
		Badinleathaid		
	30			27
<i>By Rory Macleod, Skerry—</i>		<i>By Ann Morrison, Dalcharn—</i>		
Grumb-mhor, with 16 houses		Dalnadroit, with 10 houses		
Achmhillidh, with 4 houses		Skelpick, with 12 houses		
	20	Dunviden, with 6 houses		
<i>By Grace Macdonald, Armadale—</i>				28
Langall, with 8 houses		<i>By Widow B. Mackay, Kirtomy—</i>		
Na Totachan, with 2 houses		Skall, with 6 houses		
Ealan à Challaidh, with 2 houses				6
Sgall, with 6 houses		<i>By Wm. Morrison, Achina—</i>		
Coille an Kian, with 2 houses		Rossal, with about 20 houses		
	20	Dalmalart, with 2 houses		
<i>By Wm. Mackay (Bàn), Achina—</i>		Dalvina, with 2 houses		
Achcaoilnaborgin, with 6 houses		Achphris, with 2 houses		
Achinlochy, with 6 houses				26
	12			
Carry forward.....	83	Total.....		225

[Taking the average number in each family at five persons, which is far below the average in the Highlands, we have here one thousand one hundred and twenty-five souls burnt out of their homes in Strathnaver alone, in addition to those who lived in the houses referred to by Hugh Mackenzie in a district extending from Malart to Rhifail, a distance of ten miles, thickly populated !]

THE HIGHLAND LAND LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION OF LONDON.

THE following documents have recently been issued by this influential and energetic Association. The Address to the Crofters is issued also in excellent Gaelic :—

I.—TO THE PUBLIC.

Although it is only recently that acute distress and the disturbances in Skye attracted public attention to the depressed condition of the Highlands, the system, which in so many instances either expatriated or drove the people from fertile straths and glens to barren holdings on the sea-shore, began upwards of a century ago.

The story of Highland Clearances, detailing the process by which sheep, grouse, and deer have been substituted for the gallant race to whose forefathers the chiefs owed their chieftainship, and Britain the successful issue of many a hard-fought battle, is a harrowing record of cruelty and oppression. The remains of ruined houses, the dismal desolation of many a once-fertile strath, and the depressed condition of the few who are now permitted to live on, but do not derive their subsistence from the soil, testify too eloquently of a system which has uncompromisingly sacrificed the rights and welfare of the people for the purpose of sport.

The net result of the game-preserving mania is, that vast tracts of country, fit for cultivation, or suitable for grazing sheep and cattle, are reserved in unproductive idleness as the rearing-ground of game ; while the crofters, liable to capricious eviction, with no incentive to industry, year by year having their holdings curtailed, and subject to the arbitrary rule of landlords' representatives, are living from hand to mouth on insufficient patches of the worst soil.

Long and patiently Highlanders have endured a policy which has either crushed out or pauperised the rural population; but the recent destitution and the growing discontent are ominous indications that an equitable reform of the Highland Land Laws cannot with safety be much longer delayed. This Association in contending for reform, as laid down in Article 2 of its Constitution, will proceed strictly on constitutional lines, and disclaiming any political bias, will endeavour to carry on its work irrespective of party politics. Whatever wrong-doing and injustice may be attributed to individuals, it is the system which permits wrong-doing and injustice that shall be attacked; and although it may sometimes be necessary to cite as illustrations the doings of individuals, anything tending to excite class prejudices shall be carefully avoided. On the support accorded the Association will depend the vigour and extent of its operations, and the Committee earnestly appeals for sympathy and support not only to Scotsmen, but to those who are interested in the welfare of a loyal people, and to all who are concerned in preserving the Highlands as a national health resort.

II.—TO THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS.

The appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into your grievances is a tardy, though hopeful, acknowledgment on the part of the Government that the condition of the Highlands is not satisfactory. But, however fully you may justify your complaints and prove your case, the history of all great reforms should teach you that the changes necessary to promote your welfare will not be conceded without earnest effort and a well directed agitation on your part.

We would suggest for your consideration the following remedial reforms as the object to which your agitation should be directed, viz. :—

Such changes in the Land Laws as will secure—

- (1) A Durable Tenure, under which the power of landlords to evict the people capriciously shall be abolished.
- (2) Fair Rents, fixed, wherever necessary, by a Land Court.
- (3) Due Compensation to Tenants for their improvements.
- (4) Such a re-appointment of the land as shall admit of its being used for the production of food for man, instead of allowing it, as at present, in so many instances, to lie waste for sporting purposes.
- (5) A well-considered scheme, by which tenants shall, under equitable conditions, be assisted to become owners of their holdings and all waste lands capable of improvement shall be reclaimed and rendered productive.

Your protests and complaints have hitherto been unheeded by Parliament, because a privileged body of landlords—hereditary and irresponsible—has been supreme in the Legislature, and in the Courts of Justice, in making and interpreting the law; but, above all, because you yourselves have hitherto had no voice in choosing your legislators. But ere long you will be enfranchised, and you should lose no time in preparing for the next general election, so that you may be able to return such men to Parliament as will interest themselves on your behalf.

The treatment to which you have been subjected in the past has been arbitrary and oppressive, because you have not been united; but now you must organise, be earnest of purpose, and prepared to work, and, if necessary, make sacrifices on behalf of the cause of Land Law Reform.

We would, therefore, suggest that your first duty now is to form, as soon as possible, Associations, through which you could speak and act and make your grievances known.

In forming a District Association, you might first convene a public meeting to discuss your affairs, resolve that an Association be formed, and appoint a provisional secretary and small committee. Then, the townships included in the district might each, under the direction of the committee, choose representatives, and these representatives, at a convenient time and place, might meet to frame a constitution and elect office-bearers.

An organization embracing the whole of the Highlands should be aimed at, in which each one has assigned him his place and work; so that an injustice done to one may be deemed an injustice to all, and the many united may be prepared, at whatever sacrifice, to support the righteous cause of individuals or communities whose rights are assailed.

Your cause has many influential well-wishers. This Association, for instance, includes among its adherents a goodly number of Members of Parliament, private gentlemen, clergymen, doctors of medicine, barristers, professors, and others, who will earnestly support your efforts; but on your own unity and determination success will chiefly depend; for, in the words of the old proverb, "God helps them that help themselves."

Any assistance or advice that this Association can give shall be readily rendered, and it is earnestly hoped that you will give the foregoing suggestions your serious consideration, and take such action as may be necessary without delay.

In an address, addressed specially

III.—TO SCHOOLMASTERS,

The Secretary says :—*The reform of the Land Laws is a SOCIAL QUESTION, and it is not only desirable, but essential to the success of the movement, that differences of opinion as to Political and Church matters should not be permitted to create disunion in the ranks of the Land Law Reformers.*

The Highland Land Law Reform Associations already formed, may at least lay claim to having aims and objects at once definite and intelligible ; and the number and influence of the gentlemen who have so disinterestedly espoused the cause of the Crofters, should be an encouragement and incentive to those who are more immediately concerned in effecting Land Law Reform, to organise similar associations in every Highland parish.

The battle of Land Law Reform can only be won by earnestness of purpose and unity of action on the part of the Crofters and their friends ; and this Association ventures to hope that your influence will be exerted in promoting the social emancipation of the people amongst whom your lot is cast, and their education in the duties of citizenship, on the same lines and under the same name as this Association.

PALACE CHAMBERS, 9 BRIDGE STREET,
WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

HIGHLANDERS OF NEW ZEALAND AND THEIR
DISTRESSED COUNTRYMEN AT HOME.

IN addition to the sums already acknowledged, the Editor of the *Celtic Magazine* has received another draft from the Highlanders of Invercargill, New Zealand, for £33. 1s., to be distributed at his discretion among destitute people in the North West Highlands and Islands. This makes a total sum remitted to him by our patriotic countrymen, in that district, of £181. 10s.; for which, in the name of the Highlanders at home, we heartily thank them. Our good friends will be glad to learn that now no unusual destitution exists. It is, therefore, thought best to apply most of the money on hand to the supply of corn and potato seed in the Spring. Sufficient provision has been already made for the Strome Ferry fishermen. The following is the letter accompanying the remittance, with a list of the subscribers :—

INVERCARGILL, NEW ZEALAND, 8th Nov. 1883.

ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, Esq., Dean of Guild, Inverness.

DEAR SIR, —We have now the pleasure to enclose draft on London for the sum of £33. 1s., being the third instalment towards the fund for the relief of our distressed countrymen in the North. Enclosed please find list of the contributors, and we shall thank you to give it publicity as you have done in the case of our former remittances. We note with pleasure (by your letter of 28th August that appeared in the *Inverness Courier*) the alacrity displayed by you in the distribution of the funds in hand ; and

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although the value dispensed to each claimant may not be intrinsically much, still, the knowledge that their comparatively prosperous countrymen in this distant part of the world have not forgotten them, may make the gift doubly valuable to them. As yet we have not heard as to the results of the Royal Commission, and presume that their labours are not yet finished. Much sympathy is expressed here by a number of the contributors to this fund, on behalf of the Strome Ferry fishermen, who were wrongfully imprisoned for conscience sake; and we leave it to your discretion as to whether a portion of these funds should be applied in their case.—Yours faithfully,

D. L. MATHESON.
RODERICK MACLEOD.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

Duncan Matheson, Waikaia	£2 2 0
D. N. Fitzgerald, do.	2 2 0
Henry Wilson, do.	2 2 0
Angus Macdonald, Nokomai	2 0 0
Hugh Mackenzie, Ronald Macdonald, and Finlay Murchison, Waikaia ; Alex. Mackay, Tapanui ; and J. T. Martin, Invercargil, one guinea each	5 5 0
James Grant, Miss Gunn, and Kenneth Maccrimon, Waikaia ; James Macdonald and K. Mackinnon, Tapanui ; A. Cameron, Nokomai ; Donald Kellie, Gore ; and John Macgibbon, Mataura, £1 each ...	8 0 0
Joseph Davidson, Waikaia ; Rev. A. H. Stobo, Invercargill ; J. G. Bremner, N. Simmonds, N. Colquhoun, W. T. Macfarlane, James Main, William Fraser, R. Elliott, James Duncan, Neil Gillies, Thos. Logan, and Hugh Mackay, Tapanui ; Angus Cameron, Miss Wallace, and Job Coulam, Nokomai ; Hugh Stewart, Gore ; and Dugald Livingstone, Lochiel, 10s. each	9 0 0
R. Crawford, D. Maccoll, D. Mackenzie, and T. Buchanan, Tapanui ; J. Dean, W. Fyfe, New Zealander, Miss Hamer, J. G. Brown, and Patrick Maher, Waikaia, 5s. each	2 10 0
	£33 1 0

 CELTIC AND LITERARY NOTES.

AN interesting feature has recently been introduced into the *Pictou News*, Nova Scotia, its conductors having added a Gaelic department to its columns. The superintendence of this portion has been intrusted to the accomplished hands of the Rev. A. MacLean Sinclair, Springville, N.S., well-known to the readers of the *Celtic Magazine*. Colonial and other Highlanders should extend to the *Pictou News* the encouragement which so patriotic and interesting a step as this deserves at their hands.

Another adminicle in the evidence of a decided Gaelic revival comes to us in the form of an announcement that the energetic and large-hearted Celt who holds the office of Minister of St Giles' in Edinburgh, is about to make the experiment of having Gaelic services, conducted by Highland clergymen of all denominations, as part of the non-canonical ordinances of the Cathedral. We have no doubt that this new departure by Dr Cameron Lees will be beneficial in many ways, and one of these may

be the promotion, in a greater degree, of intercommunion between the Gaelic membership of the various denominations.

There is no department of Gaelic worship where improvement could be introduced with greater advantage than in that of music. Without even approaching the subject of organs in public worship, there can be no question that there is room for vast improvement in our Gaelic praise. Our beautiful musical language is often twisted and tortured to suit ill-adapted and ill-sung Lowland and foreign tunes. We would direct the attention of Dr Cameron Lees and his Highland musical friends to the question, in the hope that some improvement may in this respect result from his new departure. It is scarcely a matter for congratulation that our native country cannot at present be charged with being a region

"Where men display, to congregations wide,
Devotion's every grace except the heart."

Another intimation of the extension of the area of Gaelic activity comes from Chicago. A Gaelic congregation is about to be established in the "Empire City" under the pastorate of the Rev. Dr Campbell, of Collingwood, Ontario. We trust that under such able and experienced superintendence, the Gaelic congregation of Chicago will be a large and prosperous one.

The *Scottish Review* for December last contains a very interesting and important article on "The Irish Language," with incidental references to Scottish Gaelic. Students of Celtic philology will find in it a careful and intelligent survey of the field, and a description of the available adjuncts and implements for its cultivation.

What promises to be a sumptuous book, has been announced by Messrs Blackwood. We refer to "The Old Scottish Regimental Colours," by Andrew Ross, S.S.C., Honorary Secretary to the Old Scottish Regimental Colours Committee. Mr Ross deems the present time a fitting one to place on record the "spirit-stirring deeds" of the Scottish Regiments, public interest having recently been pointedly directed to the subject in connection with the imposing ceremonial enacted in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, on the occasion of depositing in that ancient shrine the emblems of Scotland's military renown. The work is to be illustrated with a series of full-page representations of the old colours, and, judging from advanced plates with which we have been favoured, this part of the work will be a perfect luxury of chromo-lithographic art, apart altogether from the historical narrative, and the intrinsic interest attaching to the venerable and battle-stained subjects which these illustrations represent.

LAYS O' HAME AND COUNTRY. By ALEXANDER LOGAN.
Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 1883.

A NEW volume of Scottish poetry by the author of "Poems and Lyrics," needs no commendation from us. The present volume completely bears out the author's previous character as a tender and sympathetic exponent of the voices of the "soul in nature." It were difficult to select specimens surpassing the others, where most, if not all, are so full of delicate and pleasing beauty. We prefer to put our commendation in the form of advice by telling all "brither Scots," to get the book and enjoy it as we have done. The volume is tastefully got up and admirably printed.

A RUN THROUGH CANADA AND THE STATES.

BY KENNETH MACDONALD, F.S.A., Scot.

XI.—MINNEAPOLIS.

MINNEAPOLIS was in high festival. The annual fair was in progress, and the Hotel was crowded. In the large entrance hall an auctioneer disposing of the stakes for next day's events had an audience of over a hundred well-dressed people. The scene was a lively one, but somewhat unintelligible to me, and after finishing my home letter I sauntered out. The main thoroughfares were brilliantly lighted by electricity, while tram-cars ran up and down the centre of the streets almost continuously. But yet the city is only in process of making. Lines of handsome buildings have been run up facing each other with intervals of from sixty to a hundred feet of open space between. On each side of this space wooden footways have been hastily thrown up, and in the middle, on what, for aught that appears, may be the original surface of the prairie, two double lines of iron have been laid down for tramway traffic. The scene all round was a busy one. Ruts and dents a foot deep did not seem to offer any impediment to the numerous carriages, buggies, and "sulkies" which trundled along over the soft dusty streets, at a pace which would be fairly described as rattling had there been anything to rattle. But there was no rattle, and at a corner just off the principal thoroughfare, a peripatetic professor of figures, in black gown and trencher, was able from the top of a barrow to discourse on a new system of arithmetic to an audience of some hundreds, and to sell them his book (price half-a-dollar—I have a copy) without any interruption from the noise of the traffic. It would be a mistake, however, to judge Minneapolis hastily from the state of her streets. Her people believe she is to be a great city, and the fact that between 1860 and 1870 the population increased from less than 6000 to 18,000, and between 1870 and 1880 from 18,000 to nearly 47,000, while in 1882 the estimated population amounted to over 76,000, affords fair ground for their belief. To make the city worthy of her destiny is the object of the people, and many things which in the early days were made hurriedly and unsubstantially, they

have resolved shall be re-made. This re-making process was in operation while I was there, and is probably in operation yet, but a few years will see the principal streets of Minneapolis as handsomely finished as those of any city of similar size in the Union.

Early in the morning, my friend Mr Miller called for me, and together we proceeded to Minneapolis' twin sister, the city of Saint Paul, twelve miles distant by rail. Our stay in Saint Paul was necessarily short, and as the city was visited for purely business purposes, I saw little of it. What I saw, however, afforded evidence of the same spirit of progress, the same faith in the future, which is visible in almost every city in North America. The natural levels of the site of Saint Paul do not please its people, and millions of dollars are being spent in pulling down large and handsome buildings, and re-erecting them on a different level, and in driving piles into low-lying sections of land preparatory to raising their level to suit the general plan of the city.

On our return to Minneapolis, my friend hired the only available conveyance—an open carriage, with a team of mules—to drive us round the city. A most pleasant drive it was, notwithstanding the occasional chaff which our long-eared team evoked. After visiting the outside of a fair number of the sixty odd churches which Minneapolis contains, and seeing something of the other public buildings, we drove to the river side—the Milling quarter. It is here the heart of Minneapolis beats. Without its water-power the city would never have existed; on its continuance the future of the city mainly depends. It may seem curious to speak of the continuance of a water-power furnished by one of the largest rivers in the world, as if it were a thing about which there could be any uncertainty. Yet at one time the loss of this power seemed a mere question of time. At the Falls of St Anthony, which furnish the water-power of Minneapolis, the bed of the Mississippi is formed of a hard, bluish-grey limestone, which rests upon a bed of soft sandstone. The erosive action of the water upon the sandstone is rapid, and when it is worn away from under the superincumbent limestone, the latter falls down into the bed of the stream. The banks of the river show that in this way the Falls have receded upwards of ten miles already. In 1851 about ninety feet of the limestone gave way at once, and as only 1200 feet more of it remained above the present site of

the Falls, Minneapolis was threatened with the complete loss of her water power. To avert this, a tunnel was run through the soft sandstone behind the Falls, and filled up with concrete, while the surface was protected by a strong apron of timber. These works, which were executed at a cost of between three-quarters of a million and a million of dollars, have stopped the recession of the Falls, and assured the prosperity of Minneapolis. The loose blocks of limestone scattered over the river bed below the Falls, the great rafts of timber, and the mass of floating sawdust and broken wood, do not by any means add to the beauty of the "Father of Waters" at this point, but the busy scene on the banks, where some twenty-two flour mills, capable of manufacturing over twenty-five thousand barrels of flour daily, and sixteen timber mills, which in the previous year had turned out over two-hundred and thirty million feet of timber, more than compensated for any lack of natural beauty in the surroundings.

In the afternoon our mule-team was exchanged for Mr Miller's pony and carriage—the former a Shetland of rare beauty, and not much bigger than a full grown Newfoundland dog. The carriage was of a size to match; and as I drove Mrs Miller into the Fair-ground, our turn-out attracted even more attention—this time of a different kind—than our morning equipage had.

A few trotting matches, a ten mile bare-back race between "Bille Cook of California" (who on the previous day had beaten Espinosa "the Mexican Dare Devil" in a twenty mile race), and "Little Cricket," in which the former won, after a brilliant and keenly contested race, satisfied us with the Fair, and after an hour or two pleasantly spent with my newly-made friends, speaking of the old home so far away, I returned to the city, when between 9 and 10 P.M. I took my seat in the car which was to carry me on to Manitoba.

For an hour or more the cars were pretty well filled with farmers and other families returning home from the Fair, and a happy and prosperous lot they all looked. Immediately on leaving Minneapolis I got into conversation with a farmer and his wife from the shores of Lake Minnetonka. They were past middle life, good, honest-looking, and decidedly "sonsy." The description that honest couple gave of the beauties of their home

and of the lake by which it stood was very enthusiastic, and much as their appearance favoured them, I was inclined to accept their statements with some reservation, but later on I learned from other sources that the country round Lake Minnetonka is rarely beautiful, and leaves little to be desired, either in natural beauty, fertility, or climate.

When we had got rid of our local passengers and settled down, I secured a sleeping berth; but I had fallen among a lot of farmers who were migrating westwards. One of them—a tall, raw-boned, leather-hided Yankee, who had sold out his farm in Iowa, and was now on his way to take final possession of a free homestead grant which he had chosen six months before in Dakota—lectured his fellow traveller on the relative advantages and disadvantages of selling out farms in the older settled States for a handsome price, and moving to the free lands in the West, and he wound up with “Yer keant of course hev yer orchards and sich like comforts in Dakeota as y’had at home; but what’s that *to the chief object of life?*” This sentiment sent me to bed, and to think of the charming candour of this raw-boned pioneer of civilisation. Money-making is the chief object of life with ever so many of us, but how few will be found to avow the fact so unreservedly as this honest though rough piece of humanity did. That was my last sight of him. Before I was up in the morning he had left us, and gone westward.

From morning till night our route lay along the fertile valley of the Red River of the North. Away on either side of us, as far as the eye could reach, stretched rolling prairie lands, millions of acres of which are waiting for the settler. As we rushed over the small streams and creeks, or by the banks of the Red River, the richness and depth of the soil were apparent, but on the unbroken plain the scene was desolate enough. Here and there a log house was erected, and the farmer and his family were busy leading their crops to the stack-yard, but for miles there was at times no sign of human habitation in this, one of the richest agricultural valleys in the world.

Between four and five in the afternoon we crossed the International boundary at St Vincent, and in a few minutes we were at the “Gateway City” of Emerson. According to our ideas, Emerson would be called a very small town, but cities are easily

made in America ; and Emerson, with a population of not more than 3000, but with unlimited faith in its own future, calls itself, and is entitled to call itself, a city.

Somewhere about 7 P.M. we steamed into Winnipeg, and having found my way to one of the two "good" (save the mark) hotels in the place, and enjoyed a cup of tea, I sauntered out—it was Saturday night—to have a look at the place by gas-light.

Shortly after my arrival in Canada, I learned from the *Montreal Herald* that the Civic Assessment of Winnipeg for 1882 was 30,000,000 dols., while in the previous year it amounted to only 9,000,000 dols. In the same period the population was said to have increased from 10,000 to 25,000. I naturally, therefore, expected to find in the city evidences of rapid progress, and I was not disappointed. Winnipeg, at the time of my visit, was not a comfortable place to move about in, according to our old world ideas of comfort. The streets are wide and straight, and like all new towns in America, they all run parallel, or at right angles to each other, but there had as yet been little attempt to make good travelling roadways of them. The original tough, clayey soil still formed the surface of the parts of the street devoted to carriage traffic. The side walks were of timber, and were raised sometimes as much as five or six feet above the level of the portion of the carriage-way immediately outside them. This rendered walking rather risky on a dark night in such poorly lighted streets as those of Winnipeg then were, but the nature of the subsoil is such that the surface-water can only be carried away by deep side drains. The form of the carriage-way was almost semi-circular, the sides being several feet lower than the centre. The footways were built up to about the same level as the centre of the carriage-way, and their bare, unprotected edges, towering so high above the street beneath, gave them a dangerous look to a stranger.

The principal street of Winnipeg is Main Street, which runs from beyond the Canadian Pacific Railway Station at one end of the town, to Fort-Garry at the other, considerably over a mile, I should say, judging from the time it takes to walk it. Running parallel with, and on either side of Main Street, are other streets of less importance, which were being rapidly covered with buildings—principally dwelling-houses. The intersecting streets were

also being built upon, the portions near Main Street being devoted to shops and warehouses. The whole town was littered with bricks and timber, and other building material, and buildings were being rushed up with marvellous rapidity. Bricklayers and carpenters were having a fine time of it, their wages ranging from twelve to over twenty shillings of our money per day. The cost of living was rather high, and house rents very high. The *Winnipeg Sun*, an evening paper, was then publishing a series of papers by a special reporter who was interviewing some of the mechanics who had migrated from Ontario to Winnipeg. These all agreed that, notwithstanding the increased cost of living in Winnipeg, they were better off than they had been in the older province. One man, a carpenter, with a wife and seven children, was reported to have said that although he paid 35 dols. a-month of rent for a house he would only pay 7 dollars for in Ottawa, he had been able to save 50 dollars every month since he came to Winnipeg nearly a year before. But then he added that he could not do this and pay a rent of 5 dols. a-month for every room in his house unless he rented his rooms or took boarders. He had boarders, and in that connection he said—"I and my wife have figured it down pretty closely, and we find that our boarders just pay for the food consumed by all of us, my family included." A single man could board for five dols. a week, which left a pretty wide margin for saving, or he might, if he preferred it, live in a tent during the summer months, as many were doing in Winnipeg at that time.

Writing from Winnipeg to the *Inverness Courier*, in September 1882, I said—

How long this state of things will continue in Winnipeg it is impossible to say. So long as mer. are found to invest money in buildings things will go on smoothly enough. But Winnipeg will not continue to increase as it has done in the past if its capitalists are to build nothing besides hotels, shops, and houses, and mainly the last. Even now, indications are not wanting that a present limit is being reached. Many houses are vacant, and one of the Winnipeg papers, the *Times*, devoted a leader this week to soundly rating landlords for demanding rents which give them a return of twenty per cent. on their outlay, and letting their houses stand vacant rather than reduce rents.

When we consider that ten years ago all that existed of the City of Winnipeg was Fort-Garry, a Hudson Bay Company's trading station, we cannot help being impressed by the change which has transformed the lonely prairie into a busy town, and the people of Winnipeg are entitled to great credit for what they have done and are doing.

But Winnipeg looks forward to being, within a very few years, a much more important place than it now is, and it was this expectation that gave rise to the famous boom of last spring, when the prices of building lots in Winnipeg went up to a fabulous figure. And yet it looks as if Winnipeg is not doing what it might to secure its growth into a large city. A few miles east of Winnipeg is the eastern limit of the fertile belt. Beyond that the country, for hundreds of miles, consists of rock and swamp. To the north, along the Red River Valley, the soil, though rich, is low, and will probably not be much more thickly peopled than it is, so long as better land can be got in the west, which will be for many years to come. To the south, or south-west, lies the "Gateway City" of Emerson, close to the International boundary, and its people do not look as if they intended to let Winnipeg become supreme in the North-West without a struggle. They are so situated, too, that they have competing lines of communication with the markets of the world to which they are at present nearer than Winnipeg. To the west and north-west are millions of acres of fertile land, some of it being, according to report, the most fertile in the world, and this land is being rapidly settled. It is in this direction that Winnipeg must look for her customers; it is to serve this district, and make herself indispensable to its people, that she should now lay herself out. But this she does not appear to be doing, or to have any intention of doing. Winnipeg is full of shops and warehouses where goods can be purchased wholesale and retail, and the people think that the future trade of Winnipeg will be a wholesale one — importing goods from the East and distributing them throughout the West and North-West. Well, this may be, but there are other towns further west, notably Portage la Prairie and Brandon, going into the same trade, and as they have the advantage of being nearer the consumer than Winnipeg, and seem determined to make a fight for the trade, they may run Winnipeg a close race. The only manufacturing industry of any importance in Winnipeg is a lumber mill. Although the whole country from which Winnipeg will draw its business is a grain-producing one, there is not a grain elevator or a grist mill in the city.

There may be a great future in store for Winnipeg, but if there is, her citizens must *work*—a policy of waiting for something to turn up will not do. Even building speculators will not make a city. On the contrary, they may, by giving the place a reputation for dearness, tend to unmake it. There is one scheme on foot which, if carried out, will have an important bearing on the future of Winnipeg—that is, the proposed line of communication with Britain by Hudson's Bay. Looked at on a flat map, it does not look as if Hudson's Bay was nearer Britain than New York, but so it seems it is. I had an interesting conversation with the manager of one of the banks in Winnipeg on this subject, and from him I derived my information. There are two proposals made, and two companies have obtained charters. The one proposes to build a railway from Winnipeg to Churchill, on Hudson's Bay, a distance of between 600 and 700 miles. The other scheme, and the one which is supported by the best men, is to utilise the water communication by the Red River and Lake Winnipeg, and have a railway from the end of Lake Winnipeg to Churchill, a distance of about 360 miles. It is claimed for these routes that either of them would bring Winnipeg and the North-West Territory about a thousand miles nearer Liverpool than the present route by Duluth and the Lakes, and between 500 and 600 miles nearer than by the Canadian Pacific through line when complete. If this is so, and if either of the two schemes should be carried out, Winnipeg would probably become the great centre of the grain trade of the Canadian North-West, and indeed the natural point where all the trade of that immense territory would be transacted. Meantime, Winnipeg goes

forward with a light heart, introducing the electric light, enlarging her Town Hall at a cost of 60,000 dols., laying drains, and wondering what she will do to make her streets passable after a shower of rain—borrowing a few hundred thousand dollars here and there where they can be got, without waiting to think how they are to be repaid—in short, playing to perfection the *role* of Micawber among Western cities.

It is a very safe rule never to "prophesy unless you know," but however fond one is of the rule as a guiding principle, he is sometimes tempted to disregard it. This was my case in Winnipeg. Its whole method of going to work appeared to me to be unsound. No business is more precarious in a new town with new towns rising on every side of it than "shopkeeping," and yet Winnipeg seemed to me to pin its faith to its counters. Speculative house and shop building, the only other form of industry extensively carried on in the city, was, if anything, worse than shopkeeping. The Hudson Bay Railway and Navigation scheme will, however, if practicable and carried out in time, save Winnipeg, and if coupled with energy on the part of her citizens make her a great city. Without it she will become, on the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, little more than a roadside station on the route to the great West. K. M'D.

(*To be continued.*)

THE HIGHLANDS AND HIGHLANDERS OF SCOTLAND: PAPERS HISTORICAL, DESCRIPTIVE, BIOGRAPHICAL, LEGENDARY, AND ANECDOTAL. By JAMES CROMB, Author of "Working and Living, and other Essays." Dundee: John Leng & Co.

THIS is a most attractive and readable book, written by a Lowlander about the Highlanders. It is a sign of the times when a "Sassenach" writes in such a pleasing, almost flattering, manner of the hereditary enemies of his forbears. No Celt could have paid a warmer tribute to the many excellencies of the Celtic character than Mr Cromb has done in this book, and we heartily thank him for it. We have our faults, and Southern scribblers have not failed to present them to the world in their worst aspects and to greatly magnify them without any reference to the other side. Mr Cromb perhaps leans a little too much to virtue's side, but such a book as his was wanted, and it will do much good. The work treats of the Highland dress, the Highlander's love of country, Highland Bards, Pipers, Music,

Tartan, Superstition, Feuds, Fidelity; with special chapters devoted to each of the Massacre of Glencoe, Rob Roy Macgregor, Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, Montrose, Viscount Dundee, President Forbes, Prince Charles, and Flora Macdonald; and it is very nicely illustrated with lithographs and drawings by a Dundee artist, Mr Martin Anderson. The chapter on Highland Fidelity is particularly good. We should like to quote it at length, but even did our space admit that would be unjust to the author. No Highlander should be without a copy of the book, and we feel safe in predicting that all who peruse it will feel a glow of gratitude to its author.

The "Introduction" is worthy of the book. After describing the mistaken opinions held regarding the Highlanders of the past by their Southern neighbours, the author proceeds—"When they became known, they were found to be honourable and brave men—devoted to those to whom they owed allegiance, and regarding their life as of less value than their integrity." Of their leaders he says:—

The Chiefs, whose dignity of manner was not equalled by accomplished courtiers, were hospitable and kind, and the good things of their table were as freely offered to the wandering stranger or the meanest of their clan as to the King or his Councillors. The meanest of them could boast a line of ancestry sufficient to put an English baron to the blush; and while their occupation was war, and their delight to be warlike, they had sentiments in their bosom deep and tender as any breathed from Southern maiden's lips.

After telling us that the fidelity of the clansmen to these Chiefs, and of Highland soldiers to their officers, was one of the most distinctly marked characteristics of the Gael, and that selfishness was foreign to their nature, he states, with evident regret, how in recent years—

They have suffered vicissitudes which call forth the sympathy of all who are acquainted with their independent character and self-denying lives. Neither their tastes, habits, nor traditions have been respected. The country has been invaded by bands of pleasure-seekers, and the young and the old sent forth from the happy homes in which they lived in contentment and peace. Brave men and virtuous women have had to seek a home beyond the seas, that room might be made for sheep and deer and Cockney sportsmen. The day may come when we shall go to the glen to pipe, and find no one to dance; we may be in need of bold hearts and lusty arms, and when we turn to the mountains and cry for help, no response but the echo of our own voice will break the silence. . . . We cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that it is not good for the people nor for the country that the Highlands should be made first a sheep run, then a mere hunting and pleasure ground. Perhaps there is exaggeration in the statements regarding the extent of ground wasted for the breeding of game. Thousands of acres in the Highlands are scarcely fit for any other purpose. Many who have been compelled to leave their native glens, and seek homes in the south, or beyond the seas, have, however severe the wrench to sentiment, really benefited themselves from a material point of view. Yet it is unquestionable

that the country, as a whole, is capable of sustaining in comfort a much larger population than it does. There are fertile valleys, remote glens, and cheerful straths, rich in mingled green and purple, from which no smoke ever rises, and where the eye cannot find a habitation. Traces there are of cold hearth-stones, and of a people who are gone, yet who lived pleasant and happy lives amid these fair surroundings. But sheep, deer, and grouse have hustled them out, and the country is the weaker and the poorer. The sporting craze is, besides, demoralising the people. Does anyone think that the boatman or gillie of to-day, who carries his gun and bag over the hills, or rows his boat over the loch, is a fair representative of the clansman who responded a century and a half ago to the call of his Chief? Not a bit of him. He is often cringing and servile, and this cringing servility is a condition of obtaining employment. Buggins from the City demands it, pays for it, and the poor Gael must give it. We do not blame him. It is the lesson he has learned from contact with the South. The general influence of the Saxon on the Gael is to "unman" him. And that is not all the evil. This grouse and deer rearing is a loss to the nation. Can deer, costing £100 per head to rear, and sometimes a great deal more, or grouse, often from £1 to £5 a brace, ever be profitable for any one concerned, either in breeding or killing them?

These quotations from the Introduction will indicate the nature of the book, and the warm-heartedness of its author.

LAYS OF LEISURE: POEMS AND SONGS. By WILLIAM ALLAN.

London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1883.

AN old Highland proverb says, "An uair a bhios Murachadh na 'thàmh bidh e 'ruamhar" (when Murdo is resting he will be delving), a remark which may be appropriately applied to the author of this work. The publication not many months ago of his "After-Toil Songs," and now the issue of the present volume show that the author does a fair share of "delving" in the fields of poetry and literature in his leisure hours; and the quality of the crop satisfies us that his croft is truly on some well-favoured spot on the slopes of Parnassus itself. Nay, it would appear that he has been fortunate enough to secure "fixity of tenure" on those classic grounds. While saying this, however, we are not sure that the last season has been quite so propitious as former ones. The present volume consists of a rather mixed variety, alike in point of subject and merit. The "Lays" are characterised by much of the native force which Mr Allan infuses into his productions, and there are not wanting many of the more delicate touches which his hand can so well impart. His genius is like one of his own Nasmyth hammers, which, in the hand of the mechanic, can be made to come gently down on an egg, and barely crack its shell, or, with a force that can crush to atoms a mass of solid oak. Very musical and pretty is that short piece, "The Bell in the Valley." Right bold on the other hand, like its fearless subject, is the poem entitled "Rob Roy's Death," which appeared some time ago in our own pages. A longer poem, which also appeared in the *Celtic Magazine*, is "Drumclog," in which our author breathes the old sturdy Presbyterianism of his native country. Perhaps, however, the most powerful and vivid in the collection is that entitled "The Preacher of Portree," which, notwithstanding a considerable amount of metamorphosis, his readers will recognise as the anonymous metrical tale which appeared some months ago under the title of "St Michael and the Preacher." Mr Allan, now that he avows the paternity, prefers that it should appear in a Scotch garb. He has also shorn it of a good deal that was gruesome in its former aspect, but here it is with its "natural force" not one whit abated. The poem of the "Preacher" is one of Mr Allan's most powerful and successful attempts, and contains pictures that would have done no discredit to the author of "Tam o' Shanter." Its subject is Highland landlord oppression, clerical indifference and sycophancy, and their ultimate reward; and the treatment of it is quite in keeping with the theme. We cordially commend the "Lays of Leisure;" and the best we can say of them is that they wear the impress of the powerful hand and large warm heart of the true Scot that every one knows Mr William Allan to be.

GOLDEN WEDDING OF CLUNY MACPHERSON, C.B.

It will be remembered that on the 20th of December 1882, a great gathering took place at Cluny Castle, on which occasion Cluny and his lady were presented with addresses from almost every representative Society in the County of Inverness, in celebration of their Golden Wedding. A strong desire has since been expressed that a record of the interesting proceedings should appear in a more enduring form than newspaper reports. We have the result before us in a beautifully printed *brochure* of 96 pages, containing all the addresses presented to the grand old Chief and his lady, and life-like portraits of both. It also contains a list of the subscribers to the magnificent Centre-piece, formally presented on the 20th of December 1883, with a genealogical account of the family from Macgillicattan Mor to the present day. The whole has been prepared and edited by Mr Alexander Macpherson, banker, Kingussie, Honorary Secretary to the Testimonial Committee, and it does no small credit to his good taste, from a literary as well as from an artistic point of view. The readers of the *Celtic Magazine* do not at this time of day require that we should refer at any length to Cluny's unblemished life and record as a Highland Chief. A sketch of himself and his career appeared in these pages a few years ago, which has since been re-printed and circulated by the Testimonial Committee among the subscribers; and it is quoted in the "Golden Wedding," by Mr Macpherson.

The presentation to Cluny and his lady consists of a massive silver Candelabrum, or Centre-piece, manufactured by Mr James Aitchison, Edinburgh, weighing about seven hundred ounces. A sturdy oak tree, springing from the heather and bracken, forms the stem, from which radiate nine branches, fitted for crystals or candles, and in the centre a richly cut dish for fruit or flowers. In front of the tree is placed a group representing one of the most interesting and characteristic incidents in the history of the famous Chief of 1745, for whose capture the Government of the day offered a reward of a thousand guineas and a company in one of the regiments of the line, to any one who would bring him in dead or alive. The incident is thus described in a letter by his son, Colonel Duncan Macpher-

son of Cluny, to Colonel Stewart of Garth, author of the Sketches of the Highlanders, dated "Cluny House, 9th June 1817:"—

On another occasion, when my father was at Cluny, in a small house inhabited by the family after the Castle was burnt, the house was suddenly surrounded by a party of soldiers (*redcoats*, as they were then called,) commanded by Ensign Munro, whose information was so correct, and managed matters so secretly that there was no possibility of my father making his escape; but, on the emergency, his presence of mind did not forsake him, and he stood firm and collected in himself, and although he saw himself on the brink of destruction, and ready to fall into the hands of his persecutors, by which he must suffer an ignominious death, he deliberately stepped into the kitchen, where a servant man was sitting, and exchanged clothes with him, all of which was the work of a moment; and when the officer commanding the party rode up to the door, he, without any hesitation, ran out and held the stirrup while dismounting, walked the horse about while the officer was in the house, and when he came out again, held the stirrup to him to mount, on which the officer asked him if he knew where Cluny was; he answered that he did not, and if he did, he would not tell him; the officer replied, "I believe you would not; you are a good fellow, here is a shilling for you."

Unfortunately no authentic portrait of Cluny of the 'Forty-five exists, and the artist, Mr Clark Stanton, A.R.S.A., has, most appropriately, adopted the features of the present sturdy Chief. The conception is a happy one, but we cannot help feeling a slight regret that the incident illustrated should have necessitated such a prominent position for Ensign Munro, while Cluny himself, in whose honour the design is got up, should hold such a comparatively subordinate place; but we presume this could not be avoided, without sacrificing the historical value of the illustration. Suspended on the trunk of the oak, and serving to break the line, are a target and other warlike accoutrements. The base has been designed as far as possible in keeping with the Celtic sentiments of the occasion, and bears on one side the combined arms of Cluny Macpherson and Davidson, with the supporters, crest, and motto; and on the other a shield, bearing the following inscription (in Gaelic and English):—

PRESENTED,
ALONG WITH AN ILLUMINATED ADDRESS,
TO
CLUNY MACPHERSON, C.B., AND LADY CLUNY,
ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR
GOLDEN WEDDING,
BY
THEIR FRIENDS AND CLANSMEN.
20TH DECEMBER 1882.

No other Chief in the Highlands better deserved this honour; and we heartily wish our good friend and his lady many years of health and happiness to enjoy it, with the good wishes and, indeed, affection of the Highland people.

The following Circular is in course of being issued by A. & W. MACKENZIE, Publishers, "Celtic Magazine" Office, 25 Academy Street, Inverness:—

PROPOSED HIGHLAND NEWSPAPER,

TO BE CALLED

"THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDER."

WE have for some time been strongly urged, from influential quarters at home and abroad, to take the necessary steps for starting an Independent Weekly Newspaper in Inverness, for the special purpose of advocating the claims and promoting the interests of the Highland people.

It has been suggested that the present time is specially opportune for a movement in this direction; and that our Mr Alexander Mackenzie's special knowledge of his countrymen, their history, and wants in the present crisis, points to him as the most suitable to conduct such a paper; the marked success of the *Celtic Magazine*, under his guidance, when all similar attempts by others failed, being an earnest of his ability to prove equally successful in conducting a Highland newspaper.

To embark in the direction proposed is a serious undertaking, both as regards its financial responsibilities and the labour and energy necessary to make the paper influential and prosperous. Very liberal support has been already offered, and nothing is wanting to induce us and Mr Mackenzie to move in the matter, but a certainty that the paper shall be widely and energetically supported by Highlanders, and by their numerous friends at home and abroad.

To test the feeling existing among those specially interested, and to put the matter beyond question, the present Circular is issued, as the most practical means, to enable all who are willing to support a Highland Newspaper to do so in a substantial form, by subscribing, and agreeing to pay a year's subscription *in advance*; the money not to be paid until it is finally decided to issue the paper.

Should the result prove satisfactory, steps will at once be taken to start a paper of eight pages, at one penny. If, on the other hand, such interest is not shown, in the manner indicated, as will secure a *certain* subscribed circulation to begin with, of at least five thousand copies, it will not be deemed prudent to proceed any further in the matter at present. Whether or not the Highlanders shall have a representative paper is thus left in their own hands; and they should, in a matter of this kind, remember that "*Heaven helps those who help themselves.*"

All who feel interested regarding the position and prospects of the Highland people; and who care for the Language, Literature, Traditions, and the Material interests of a noble but ill-used race, will, it is hoped, aid us in securing the necessary support for carrying out the object aimed at.

It is believed that the manner in which the *Celtic Magazine* has been conducted to such a successful issue, will be accepted as a sufficient guarantee that the same prudence, firmness, and energy which secured that success will be applied with even greater results, to the conduct of such a Newspaper as is now proposed.

The leading friends of the Highland people are fully satisfied—however favourable the Report of the Royal Commission may be—that the real work of those who demand and will insist upon a change in the present Land Laws will only begin in earnest when the nature of the Report becomes known. This points strongly to the necessity of Highlanders having a special organ of their own to advance their claims.

A Gaelic department will form a feature of the paper; and special attention will always be given to Local News from every Strath, Glen, and Hamlet, where Highlanders are to be found.

A. & W. MACKENZIE.